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PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

There is no reasoning down a prejudice. The thing has frequently been tried, but as a rule, has failed in nine cases out of ten. Now, prejudices are of various kinds. One Doctor Fell, to wit, of whom we have read, was the object of a prejudice which prevented a certain party from liking him, though the latter could furnish no reason for his dislike. We, too, know some extremely amiable persons, who entertain a morbid dislike to features of a peculiar stamp, to eyes of a particular colour, whilst others loathe a complexion of a swarthy tendency. This prejudice against colour is most rampant in the Northern States of the American Union. It is the legacy which slavery is bequeathing to freedom, and we in this country can form but an imperfect idea of the extent to which it is carried, or of its influence on the present happiness and social condition of the free coloured population. The subjoined narrative will, however, illustrate it to some extent.

In April of the year 1851, a young man, named Allen, a quadroon, a professor at the New York Central College, (one of the very few scholastic institutions where coloured and white students are received on terms of perfect equality, and the only College in the United States where a coloured man holds a professorship,) was visiting Fulton, Oswego County, New York. He was on a lecturing tour, and being invited to lodge at the house of a certain Mr. L. King, a Minister of the Gospel, became enamoured of one of his daughters. The young lady was preparing to enter New York Central College, (situated in McGrawville, Cortland County, N. Y.)

and the young man conducted her thither. She remained there a year and a half, during which time the youthful Professor ingratiated himself into her favour, and the attachment became mutual. As the Rev. L. King was a staunch abolitionist, and preached with peculiar fervour the doctrine that character is above colour, the subject of this narrative had no reason to expect that his colour would become an obstacle to his union with the daughter of his host. The young people discussed the subject between themselves, and having agreed to be united, Miss King consulted her father, who made no objection. Not so his wife, (his second, by the way,) whose notions respecting amalgamation seem to have been very decided and adverse. Other near relatives and their friends became enlisted on her side, and the united representations of the dark prospect which threatened the family seem to have at length shaken Elder King's orthodoxy, though he had not the heart to disappoint his daughter of an interview which she was to have with her lover, on a stated day, but drove her, himself, to Philipsville, about two miles from Fulton, where, in consequence of the altered aspect of affairs, she was to meet her husband elect. Soon, however, the news became bruited that there was "a nigger fellow in the town who was going to marry a white girl." An armed mob forthwith assembled, and under leadership, proceeded to the house where the young man was staying, manifesting their intentions by bringing an empty barrel spiked with shingle-nails, some tar, feathers, and a pole. They were several hundred strong, and would at once have carried the place by assault, had

not a self-constituted Committee of their own number suggested that if the young folks should be still unmarried, no violence need be resorted to, as they could easily carry off the lady. Accordingly a deputation gained access to the apartment where Miss King, her lover, and their hosts were sitting, and demanded to know whether the marriage ceremony had been performed. Having ascertained that it had not, and that this meeting was merely preparatory to the ceremonial, the deputation intimated that it was fortunate for the Professor and for those who had entertained him, for they would most assuredly have been lynched, though no harm would have been done to the young woman. They added, that violence to him might be avoided if she would consent to leave the village and return home that night. To this arrangement she assented, and was forthwith conducted to a sleigh which was in waiting, and driven away. The mob, however, yelling and threatening, still remained about the premises where the Professor was, when one of the deputation suggested that he should be conducted to the *hôtel*, about half-a-mile distant, whence he could more easily leave for a place of safety. Under the guardianship of this deputation, the Professor contrived to pass unharmed through a double file of ruffians, who several times attempted to do him personal violence: fortunately he escaped, with sundry kicks and cuffs, and reached the *hôtel* without receiving very serious damage, save to his hat and clothes. But his troubles were not at an end. The mob had increased, and soon began to grow more clamorous. They hung around the windows, lifted them half open, tried to clamber through them into the apartment where he was, and waylaid the outer doors. At the expiration of about an hour, many left, and two sleighs being prepared, one was brought to the front door, the second to the back, into either of which he was to get, as circumstances should determine. The mob, however, suspecting the plan, made a rush every time he appeared at the door, seeking to do him a violence. At length he succeeded in reaching the sleigh at the back door, and was driven away in safety to Syracuse, a distance of twenty-five miles, where he arrived at midnight.

"When the mob separated us," we now quote the words of the Professor, "Miss King said she would meet me in Syracuse next evening. This was overheard, and the mob determined that no such thing should be. The cars were therefore carefully watched for several days, to prevent Miss King from reaching Syracuse, and word was sent to the rowdies of the place to mob me if I were seen about the car-house. Indeed, on one occasion, I found it advisable to get away from the *Dépôt*, where I happened to be standing, in order to escape violence. My friends in Fulton, who had entertained Miss King and myself, did not escape

so fortunately. The people of Fulton turned out *en masse* on the very next night, and in solemn meeting resolved that Mr. Porter (my friend) should be expelled from the school of which he was teacher, and leave the village. They at once carried their resolution into effect, and he joined me at Syracuse. The Fulton mob learning this, supposed that he had gone to Syracuse to concoct a plan with me for the abduction of Miss King, and when he returned to Fulton they came upon him 300 strong, and would assuredly have done him serious personal violence had he not evaded their vengeance by creeping under a buffalo in the sleigh where his wife was, and a friend who acted as driver.

"The darkest chapter, however, in this whole affair was the persecution to which Miss King was subjected at the hands of her relatives and friends, and the Fulton community. Compared with this, the mob sinks into insignificance. She was reviled on every hand, upbraided, ridiculed, attempts made to bribe her into the selling of her conscience and heart's convictions, and, finally, she was imprisoned for two weeks; that is, she was not permitted to leave the house, nor to see any person whatever except in the presence of her family; nor was anybody allowed to enter it who was supposed to be favourable to our union. Neither she nor her sister (who was friendly to the marriage) was permitted to write letters to any one without having them read before being despatched by the parents; neither were they permitted to receive letters without their being first read. The result was, that Miss King was thrown upon a sick bed. Every possible influence being brought to bear upon her, Miss King found it necessary, for the safe issue of things, to promise that the engagement should be broken. She made the promise, however, with the express understanding that she should have one more personal interview with me. This arrangement was reluctantly assented to by her parents and brothers. We met, therefore, according to appointment, in Syracuse, about two weeks after the mobbing. We there agreed that we would stand by each other to the death—that we would obey our hearts' convictions, though all the world should oppose us. Having the physical force of the whole community against us, and the newspaper press all over the country (only one or two excepted) inflaming the minds of the populace by all sorts of statements, such as only those who are prejudiced against colour can make, and fearing also that Miss King's friends would not scruple to swear her into the lunatic asylum if she openly persisted in her intention to marry me, we were reduced to the necessity of exercising our rights, not as we *would*, but as we *could*. Miss King returned home, her friends none the wiser as to our arrangements. In two weeks, or thereabouts, she left for Pennsylvania, ostensibly to teach in a school. We corresponded through a third person, and my arrangements for starting for Europe being made, we met in New York city, March 30th last, were married immediately, and came directly to Boston. There we remained ten days, and took passage, April 9th, for Liverpool.

"Some idea of the spirit of persecution by which we were pursued, may be gathered from the fact, that when the mobocrats of Fulton heard

that we were having an interview in Syracuse, they threatened to come down and mob us, and were only dissuaded from so doing by the promise of Elder King that he would go after his daughter, if she did not return in the next train.

"This affair, however, was of service in one respect. It served to exhibit certain people in their true character. Some of the Abolitionists were decidedly the most mobocratic in spirit, if not in action. Many even cut down their liberty-poles, and announced that they had done with abolition. Some avowed that their object in being Abolitionists was to labour to prevent the union of the white with the coloured people, and even declared that they would not associate with coloured people if they could wholly avoid it, nor allow their children to do so. Meetings in Fulton were held, and for a week or more the village was as if an invading army had come down upon it, and all because a quiet, and acknowledged respectable coloured man presumed to visit a white young lady to talk on the subject of marriage. The newspaper published in Fulton, I am happy to say, was one of the most candid which noticed the affair. Although it was opposed to amalgamation, it condemned the mob, and spoke of us with respect—describing Miss King as 'a young lady of talent, education, refinement, and unblemished character:' and of myself as a 'gentleman and a scholar, a Christian and a citizen, against whose character nothing had ever been urged.' While hundreds of the Abolitionists took ground against our marriage, and even passed in one of their meetings in Fulton, a resolution to meet all such cases, many persons not known as Abolitionists took the Christian and sensible ground, that an affair of the heart is an affair between the parties, and that they are tyrants who refuse to grant to others the exercise of rights which they claim for themselves."

We do not know that we can add anything likely to increase the interest of this "romance of real life," except it be to observe that Professor Allen and his youthful bride were both present on the platform, at the late meeting at Exeter Hall, and were presented to Mrs. Stowe at Willis' Rooms. We understand it is Professor Allen's intention to deliver lectures in this country, and endeavour otherwise to turn his various attainments to account. We feel sure that he will receive a kind reception at the hands of all anti-slavery friends, which we take this opportunity of bespeaking for him.

MRS. H. B. STOWE.

Our readers will probably not take it amiss, that we furnish them with a brief account of the reception this distinguished lady has met with, since we recorded the particulars of the ovation with which she was honoured, north of the Tweed. On the 28th of April, she arrived in Birmingham, (accompanied by her husband Professor Stowe, and her brother the Rev. Charles Beecher,) where they were entertained by Joseph Sturge, Esq. On Monday, the 2nd May, previously to her departure for London, about a hundred and fifty

ladies and gentlemen, interested in the Anti-Slavery Cause, assembled at Mr. Sturge's house, at Edgbaston, to meet his distinguished guests. Mrs. Stowe was introduced to the company by Mr. Sturge, and was very warmly greeted. The Secretary of the *Ladies' Negro's Friend Society* then read the following address:

"It would have afforded a high gratification to the members of the *Ladies' Negro's Friend Society* had it been possible for Mrs. Stowe to have been present at their anniversary meeting to-morrow; but, as this may not be, the Committee and their friends have availed themselves of the present occasion to present shortly, to her notice, the history and objects of this association, which they feel assured will commend themselves to her warm interest and sympathy. It was in the year 1825, that the *Ladies' Negro's Friend Society* was formed for this town, and the surrounding districts, to promote the Abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies. It is not needful now to advert to the means which were adopted in the pursuance of this great object, which, after the lapse of more than ten years, were crowned with success; but the Committee deem it very important to claim Mrs. Stowe's attention to one of its earliest rules—Rule 11th. 'That this society, convinced that abstinence from the use of slave-cultivated sugar is one of the best modes to which recourse can be had to express its abhorrence of the system of colonial slavery, and that the exclusive consumption of the produce of free labour is the most effectual means of annihilating that scourge of humanity, not only in our West India colonies, but also in other parts of the world—earnestly desires that its members will endeavour, by their influence as well as by their example, to promote the exclusive use of the productions of free labour in the neighbourhoods in which they reside.' This object has been steadily kept in view by this association from that time to the present. In the years 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828, about 20,000 families in Birmingham and the vicinity were called upon, in order to recommend them to carry out the principle which was once adopted to so large an extent during the struggle for the abolition of the African slave-trade, that Thomas Clarkson computed that there were at that time three hundred thousand persons who abstained from West India sugar. When slavery became happily extinct in the West Indies, this society endeavoured to carry out this measure in respect to the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. A close examination of this principle, and the experience of years, have confirmed the conviction of its soundness and importance, and the assurance that when adopted by all who profess abhorrence of slavery, the advocates of freedom will stand in a consistent position which cannot long be resisted. They at least cannot be taunted, in the language of the *Times*. 'Negro slaves working under the lash in the mid-day sun, and keeping their hoe "well up to the mark," as Mr. Legree would say, produce the material of our cravats, our stockings, and the simple and comprehensive garment in which we take our repose. They supply the muslins and prints, and nearly all the other fabrics of our female costume, from the dress of the Sovereign to that of the

poorest needlewoman.' It may be necessary to notice the objection sometimes urged against this movement, that if universally acted on, starvation and ruin would ensue to a vast population on both sides the Atlantic. 'A nation is not born in a day.' It is only needful for those who profess to be governed by the obligations of the religion of Christ to act as far as possible consistently in this respect—to ensure the termination of the system, which is to be looked to far less from a diminished demand for slave produce, than from the moral effects of the steadfast abhorrence of slavery, of which such a practice affords *ever recurring* and unquestionable evidence. They give on this occasion their warmest welcome to Mrs. Stowe; they need add nothing on the subject of the work for which she is so distinguished, save that, in their opinion, it is not the least of its merits that it impresses on the more thoughtful of its readers the duty of abstaining from every participation in the iniquities it portrays, and they feel assured of her full sympathy and assistance in giving this conviction a practical effect."

Professor Stowe immediately rose and said:—

"My friends, I have for many years been pondering on what we could do to be effective on the subject of slavery, seeing that so much of the government of the United States is in the hands of slaveholders themselves. Now, there appear to be only two ways—either the slaveholders must give up their slaves, and emancipate them entirely, or there must be a bloody conflict. Now, nobody wants to see a bloody conflict—that is not to be thought of. At the same time, it must be remembered that we have tried numberless appeals. The system has been admitted to be wrong; but all we do, and all that has been done, seems to produce no permanent influence. The great evil is this—the encouragement of the produce of slave labour, especially as regards the article of cotton. The slave labour employed in the production of sugar is limited as compared with cotton; and Great Britain supports the system by taking two-thirds of that slave-grown cotton. Before this cotton culture had progressed to the extent it has now reached, the amount of slave labour employed was comparatively limited; its strength has been added to enormously, and solely for the production of this cotton. It has been ascertained satisfactorily that cotton can be as profitably produced by free as by slave labour—having in view that the average price of a slave is from 800 to 2500 dollars. Now, suppose instead of (say) one hundred slaves to stock a plantation, there are a number of small farms, there can be no doubt but that free labour could compete with slave labour. This plan might, under any circumstances, be tried on the borders of slaveholding States; there can be no doubt but that the experiment would be successful, the free labour fairly maintaining ground with the slave labour. This system would progress, even though it did so slowly; and in the meantime it is the duty of everyone to abstain from using any slave-grown produce as much as possible; by so doing, every year would add to this movement; by this agency, and by this abstinence, it would be further effec-

tual in showing the slaveholders that they were in earnest."

Professor Stowe, after making some further remarks, read the following declaration, as embodying Mrs. Stowe's and his own views on the subject of slavery generally:—

"That all innocent human beings are entitled to personal liberty without delay. That if compensation to the slave-owner be in any case allowed, it should not be on the ground of a right to hold his fellow-man as property; but on account of the participation of the whole country in the guilt of slavery, by its direct sanction of the system, or for the purpose of relieving immediate suffering without at all raising the question of right; that it is the duty of all who entertain these views to use every legitimate means for the abolition of slavery throughout the world; that it is especially important that they should clear themselves from any participation in the guilt of slavery, by abstaining as far as possible from the use of slave-grown produce."

Joseph Sturge, Esq., took the opportunity of saying that it was intended to keep open the tribute to Mrs. Stowe (for anti-slavery purposes) till near the time of her departure; that it was much to be desired that larger contributions should be made, as there were so many objects to which Mrs. Stowe might apply it; that some of the promoters being especially interested in the free-labour movement, are much gratified to learn that Mrs. Stowe's views on this subject coincide with their own.

The Rev. J. A. James then rose, and in most eloquent terms welcomed Mrs. Stowe and her family to the circle of anti-slavery friends in Birmingham, and with other congratulations from gentlemen present the proceedings terminated.

On Saturday, the 7th May, a large and brilliant company of ladies and gentlemen assembled at Stafford House, the magnificent residence of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, for the purpose of enabling those who had promoted the Addresses on Slavery from the Women of England to the Women of America, and others interested in the subject, to welcome Mrs. H. B. Stowe to this country. Amongst the company were many of the principal members of the aristocracy, some of the Cabinet Ministers, a good sprinkling of known friends of the Anti-slavery cause, and a very considerable number of other persons, not identified with it, but who had been favoured with invitations.

The Duke of Sutherland having introduced Mrs. Stowe to the assembly, the following short address was read and presented to her by the Earl of Shaftesbury:

"Madam,—I am deputed by the Duchess of Sutherland and the ladies of the two committees appointed to conduct 'The Address of the Women of England to the Women of America on the subject of Slavery' to express the high gratifica-

tion they feel in your presence among them this day.

"The address, which has received considerably more than half-a-million of the signatures of the women of Great Britain and Ireland, they have already transmitted to the United States, consigning it to the care of those whom you have nominated as fit and zealous persons to undertake the charge in your absence.

"The earnest desire of these committees, and, indeed, we may say of the whole kingdom, is to cultivate the most friendly and affectionate relations between the two countries, and we cannot but believe that we are fostering such a feeling when we avow our deep admiration of an American lady who, blessed by the possession of vast genius and intellectual power, enjoys the still higher blessing that she devotes them to the glory of God and the temporal and eternal interest of the human race."

The Rev. Mr. Beecher (Mrs. Stowe's brother), after a few prefatory remarks of acknowledgment and thanks, read the following letter, which had been written to his sister:

"My dear Mrs. H. B. Stowe,—While I am fully sensible of the small results of my efforts in the cause of emancipation, I will not deny that your appreciation gives me great pleasure, and, I trust, not ignoble pride. Alas! without such kind and cheering words, which I have received from many sources, how could I have so long stood up against such odds, however much Providence had gifted me with an iron purpose? The loss of caste in the social circle in which we have been used to move is hard; the obscurity from which the most fervent ambition cannot rescue us, is hard; the peril of good name, of life and limb, is hard; but harder than all is the reflection that we are for ever unappreciated by those for whom we sacrifice our all. For, if we fail, our memory perishes. The most melancholy idea of Siberian exile is the extinction of the name, where the burial-stone not even marks the ashes of the past. The history of mankind, therefore, presents few instances of sacrifice for the inferior castes. The Gracchi fell in defence of the rights of the poor, and the winners in the contest branded their names with infamy, from which the late justice of history can hardly rescue them. It remained only to the Divine Messenger of our faith thus to suffer and to conquer.

"Our plans of procedure in this cause are simple; we follow in the lead of our hearts rather than our intelligence, for I am not insensible of the almost indestructible power of the slaveholders. I venture to say, that never before was an aristocracy based upon such a firm basis. Slavery embraces almost all the talent, the learning, and the bodily energy of the people. If the slaveholders had only the first two, and the mass of the people the last, we could be to them leaders and they to us power; but, alas! whenever in the course of events men of action spring up, the first want of accumulated wealth is menial service, which here can only be slave labour. Thus the ownership of slaves places them at once on the side of the men in power.

"Can we persuade men to lay down power?

Can the luxurious be induced to cease from luxury? Can the lame walk, or the blind see?

"On the other hand, can we infuse spirit and manliness into hereditary dependents? Can we make men firm when their bread wastes away? Alas! are not the dependent whites the slaves of the slaves?

"Still, we 'never give up the ship,' because to give it up is to give up our idea of God. We cannot give it up, because it would be to despair of all eventual elevation of the human race: we cannot give it up, because our soul lives upon ideas of justice, of mercy, of truth. We perish with hunger; we must eat, and eat of them only.

* * * * *

"We trust in Providence, but we trust with our shoulder to the wheel. By agitation we prepare the minds of the ruling Powers for change; that at last, think they, cannot be so insufferable which so many men of all climes so earnestly crave. Thus you of the north aid us—thus England aids us—thus France aids us—thus an outcry of all mankind aids us. This, then, is, perhaps, in my time the mission of the Free-soil party in the slave States—to take care to keep untrammelled the freedom of speech and the press, and to be the trumpet-tongued messengers of truth and the conscience of mankind.

"This is the way of Providence—the undying aspiration for the right in the hearts of all true men and women,—this is divine. All humble and obscure as I am, I am yet too proud to flatter any one; but honour to you that you have not buried your talent! No repining against Him as a hard master. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is the fruit of the embryo inspiration which God has planted in every human soul. Be of good cheer, you have not lived in vain. Through long centuries—yes, I feel when slavery shall be no more—you have erected a shrine, around which the humble, the fainting, the famishing will gather, and be comforted and strengthened, and be at peace with man and trustful of God.

"Mrs. Clay gladly accepts the office of committee-man on the reception of the address of the ladies of England, provided it be not too late. It has been the solace of long years of painful effort that she appreciates my principles and my purposes. Though all the world is lost, home be secure!

"The vote cast for me, advocating unconditional emancipation on the soil, was near 4,000. The colonization party did not sustain me. When they shall give up that 'compromise' with slaveholders, if ever, our strength will be greatly increased. 'Uncle Tom' is much read in Kentucky and all the South. Here it is making daily converts to our cause. We are organized—have a feeble paper advocating our views, which we hope this summer to strengthen with an able editor. We are few, but determined; and may God defend the right.

* * * * *

"Your obedient servant,
"C. M. CLAY."

After partaking of refreshments, the ladies who were present congregated in one of the splendid saloons apart, and Mrs. Stowe, who was seated between the Duchesses of Suther-

land and Argyll, addressed the ladies in the following terms:—

"I wanted to say a few words to the ladies of England on the subject of their address, because it appears to me that they are not all aware of the real state of feeling of the ladies of America. You must not judge of the feelings of the ladies of America by what is said in the public papers, or even by the letters that reach you purporting to be sent by the ladies in America as an answer to your address. The ladies of America cannot express their true feelings on the subject of slavery because of their husbands—because they know that it involves a great social question; great political as well as great pecuniary interests are involved in it. I may say, that millions of pounds are at stake in this question, because the slave property is worth millions of money. When you read, therefore, in the papers, violent, and bitter, and hard words, on the subject of the interference of England—or when you receive angry or scornful letters, purporting to come from the ladies of America, you must remember that all these are penned by a party of politicians. Nor are you ladies of England, as it appears to me, at all aware of the deep feeling of sympathy with which 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was received in America, long before it was known in England.

The first word that ever appeared in print against 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was the article in the *Times*. But no sooner did that article reach America than it was reprinted and re-echoed in our papers; it was printed in the form of a tract, and circulated widely through the country. Indeed, I may say, that every attack on 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' every defence of slavery that has since been printed in America, has been, in one way or other, grounded on that article in the *Times*. The *Times*, and many of our American papers, will tell you, that your address has done no good—that it will make no difference. But I can tell you that it has done good; and the bitterness and the anger that have been manifested against it show how great is the good that has been done by it. The politicians and party who advocate slavery, would not have been so enraged if they had not felt the force of your address. I will tell you the good it has done. It has shown your sympathy with the victims of slavery. . . . Since I have been in this country, both in Scotland and England, I have visited the houses of the peer and the peasant, the high and the low, the intelligent and the rich, and I have been received with but one feeling. I have spoken to many of all classes, and have never heard an unkind word against America. The feelings of America and England are one. Some will tell you that the interest on the subject of slavery is dying away—that 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has been read by everybody, but is now forgotten; but I must tell you, that 60,000 copies of the 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin' were sold in the first three days after it was published. I think that proves that the interest on the subject has not died away. When people heard that I was going to publish documents proving that 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was no exaggeration, I had several letters from ladies in America, offering me authentic facts to publish. I will tell you of one lady—a friend of mine—a very lively

woman. She sent me a long letter, filled with facts. She wrote to me and said, that I had her best sympathies, that she would give me money and assistance, that I might publish her letter, but that I might not publish her name. Her husband was opposed to abolition. She could not, therefore, come forward to help me. But one thing she could do. She has three sons: these sons she could bring up as Christians, and, as Christians, they would learn their duty to their fellow-creatures, and the true rights of man. And now we come to the practical question. What can now be done to forward this great work? I look first to God. God can turn the hearts of all; he may turn the hearts of men even to overlook their worldly interests, and to obey his will even in opposition to their interests. But more than this; God can, in his overruling providence, so order all things that this work, apparently so hard, can be effected, in spite of all that politicians may say to the contrary. You must, therefore, pray to him for us and with us. But man can also do something. You must go on expressing your sympathy with us in this matter. You must not fancy that you do not meet with a reciprocal feeling in America. Again, you must educate your subjects in Canada. The practical effects of good education among your own subjects would set an example to America that would not be passed by or lightly spoken of. But, also, you must try to encourage the use of free-grown cotton. That would more effectually give a blow to slavery than anything else. At present there is very little free-grown cotton used, but there might be a great deal more grown. The principal market for our slave-grown cotton is England. England purchases three-quarters of our cotton, while we only use one quarter ourselves. These are the ways in which you may aid us in this great work; remembering that, after all, the issue of it is in the hands of Him who ordereth all things. Let us trust, then, to Jesus, and look to Jesus, and he will help us in it."

Mrs. Stowe's address was listened to with the most marked attention and evident gratification. The company began to disperse soon after five o'clock, every one appearing greatly pleased with the interesting proceedings of the day. Mrs. Stowe and her friends were among the last to leave, and were accompanied to the entrance-hall by the Duchess of Sutherland, who there took leave of her guests.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was held, according to announcement, on Monday evening, the 16th ult. Long before the hour fixed for opening the doors, crowds had assembled outside, blocking up the public way, and manifesting the greatest impatience to be admitted. So great was the pressure, that the doors were obliged to be opened half an hour before the appointed time, and the por-

tions of the hall allotted to the public became rapidly filled with a highly respectable assembly. When the Earl of Shaftesbury took the Chair, it is computed that there could not have been fewer than 6,000 persons present, so completely was every available place occupied. It was, indeed, a magnificent gathering: one of the largest that ever congregated in Exeter Hall, and the effect of which will be long remembered. As we purpose shortly to give, as an Appendix to our Annual Report, a full account of the proceedings, with a list of the principal persons who were present, we shall content ourselves with presenting here, a brief abstract of the former. We will merely add, that shortly after they had commenced, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe made her appearance in the northern gallery, and being recognized by the audience, was greeted with several rounds of the most enthusiastic cheers, the great majority rising to welcome her. The cheering was renewed with increased vigour when Mrs. Stowe, prompted by the Duchess of Sutherland, who was seated by her, rose and acknowledged the compliment.

The Earl of Shaftesbury having opened the business of the evening in an energetic speech, which was loudly applauded, the Secretary made an attempt to read an Abstract of the Report, but the impatience of the auditory compelled him to desist, and he therefore briefly adverted to its contents, submitting only the most salient points. We subjoin the abstract:

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

In the history of great questions, there are seasons when those who are engaged in the advocacy of a catholic principle, are especially required to take a retrospect of the cause they are advocating.

The present is one of the most momentous periods in the annals of the Abolition movement. The public mind has never been so thoroughly alive to the magnitude of the evils of Slavery, nor has a more favourable opportunity ever presented itself of directing public opinion, in the full force of its mighty power, against this gigantic iniquity.

With especial reference, however, to the present healthy tone of general sentiment on the subject of Slavery, your Committee would recur with satisfaction to the past labours of those eminent individuals in this country and in America, and of the earlier associations which they originated, through whose instrumentality public attention was first powerfully directed to this subject. Your Com-

mittee would remind you of a time when the Slave-trade was not illegal, and when Slavery was a domestic institution in many of our Colonies: when the principal maritime powers of Europe—with Great Britain at their head—the United States of America, and the other countries of that immense Continent and the Colonies adjacent, were extensively engaged in the abominable traffic in human beings: when scarcely any portion of its mainland, or of the beautiful islands that fringe its coasts, and in which Europeans were settled, were unpolluted with Slavery: when nearly the whole of our imports of sugar, rice, tobacco, coffee and indigo, were the produce of Slave-labour: and when the public sentiment of this country was as opposed to the abolition of the Slave-trade and of Slavery, as it is now unanimous in condemnation of both. Your Committee would next revert to the efforts which, at that early period, were made by a few earnest-minded men, to create a sound public opinion on these subjects, and stimulate it to stem the torrent of iniquity that had already disfigured so fair a portion of the earth, and threatened rapidly to overspread contiguous territories. At first, these efforts met with but indifferent success. Arrayed against them, in formidable combination, and goaded into the most resolute opposition by the powerful party whose interests were supposed to be identified with the continuance of Slavery, were the Parliament, the Clergy, the Press, and even the people. All of these had to be enlightened, and converted to the cause of the slave: a process which was found extremely slow, and was oftentimes discouraging. It required, indeed, half a century of patient and indefatigable labour. But the national conscience was at length aroused, and the work was done: England renounced the Slave-trade and Slavery.

Your Committee, however, whilst dwelling on this grand moral triumph, would emphatically remind you, that notwithstanding the unwearied efforts of the Abolitionists and their co-adjutors, to awaken the public opinion of this country to a sense of the enormous iniquity of Slaveholding, little real progress was made in this direction, until the principle was asserted of immediate and unconditional emancipation, on the ground that "Slavery is a sin and a crime before God." This doctrine it was that first startled the conscience of the nation. It smote its ear as an unbearable reproach on a professing Christian people, and aroused the religious feelings of the community. It led to investigation; conviction speedily followed. In vain Slavery asserted the rights of property, in defiance of the laws of God. Such rights were indignantly denied to exist, when that property meant man: and thus, the principle that man cannot hold property in man, became the corner-stone of the Abolition movement.

The greatly improved state of public opinion which resulted from the maintenance of this principle, finally led to the extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies. Many of the Northern States of the American Union had, indeed, already set a worthy example in this respect, and the odious institution would probably have been rapidly abolished throughout the entire Federation, had not the value of slave-labour become greatly enhanced, by the extraordinary demand that unexpectedly arose for the chief products of that labour, and had not the monetary interest concerned in the support of Slavery been enabled, in consequence, to trample upon the greater interests of humanity. It is, nevertheless, encouraging to reflect, that the northern limit of Slavery in the American Union was finally fixed by an Act of Congress, so that, in one direction at least, its area is circumscribed. Mexico, and the smaller republics of South America, from the first recognized the right of the slave to emancipation. In these States Slavery no longer exists, or is in rapid process of extinction. It was, subsequently, abolished in the small island of St. Bartholomew, belonging to the King of Denmark; whilst in 1847, an act was passed for the emancipation of the slaves in the Danish West-India Islands; though it is to be lamented that the labouring population has since been subjected to a code of regulations of a semi-slavery character. The following year, the then Provisional Government of France gave immediate freedom to 300,000 slaves in her colonial dependencies, and there is some reason to hope that Portugal will speedily banish Slavery from her Indian and African possessions. In the Dutch colonies it still exists; but the question of emancipation is occupying the attention of the home and colonial authorities, and will, it is expected, soon be officially discussed, with a view to its final adjustment. Thus, the principal territories in which this unrighteous system is now firmly maintained, on any very extended scale, are the Southern States of the American Union, Brazil, and a few minor States of South America, the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to a limited extent, in the colonies belonging to Holland. In all of these, the entire number of human beings held in bondage does not fall short of eight millions, thus distributed:—in the American Slave States, three million three hundred thousand; in Brazil, about the same number; in the Spanish colonies probably above half a million; in the Dutch colonies, and the Portuguese settlements, about two hundred and fifty thousand; the remainder being spread over the South American Republics, and other territories.

With relation to the Slave-trade, your Committee regret to say that Spain is still extensively engaged in prosecuting it, between

the coast of Africa, and the magnificent island of Cuba, if not to Porto Rico. During the year 1852, it is estimated that above 5,000 slaves were landed in Cuba alone; but since the commencement of the present year, an extraordinary increase has taken place. Advices from the Havannah, *via* New York, to the 2nd of April, state that the total number introduced up to that time, with the direct connivance of the authorities, cannot be set down at less than 10,000.

With relation to Brazil, it affords your Committee much satisfaction to record, that from January to October, 1852, only one cargo of slaves is known to have been landed. One or two attempts have been since made to disembark others, but in each case the unfortunate victims were seized by the authorities, and proceedings forthwith instituted against the offending parties. Gratifying, however, as these facts undoubtedly are, as affording an indication of the ability of the Brazilian Government to put an end to the traffic, your Committee do not feel justified in asserting that it is finally suppressed. They can only express a hope, that the actual high price of slaves in Brazil, and the increasing demand for this kind of labour, may not stimulate to the renewal of a commerce which holds out, under present circumstances, so strong a temptation to realize inordinate gains.

There is still a coast-trade in slaves carried on between Northern Africa and the Levant, but the latest accounts show a sensible diminution since your Committee's last Report. The traffic on the North-east coast, however, has been prosecuted with considerable vigour. The chief proportion of the victims, in both these instances, are females, who are destined for the markets of the East.

Glancing now at their home-proceedings during the past year, your Committee would observe, that they have directed their attention, as necessity arose, to the varied and important questions which the objects of your Society embrace, but to which the limits of this abstract do not permit a more extended reference. They would, nevertheless, dwell for a moment on one or two points which demand more than a passing notice. At the commencement of the present year, the form of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the official organ of your Society, was altered and reduced in price. It was also modified in other respects, with a view to meet the increasing demand for Anti-Slavery information. Your Committee would earnestly recommend all who are interested in the progress of the Anti-Slavery movement—of which it is intended to present a faithful and impartial record—to use their exertions to secure for it an extended circulation. Your Committee would next refer to the Address they have recently issued, calling the attention of Christians of all de-

nominations in the United Kingdom, and especially of Christian ministers, to the position of the American churches, and of the principal religious associations of the United States, with reference to the monstrous evil which they are cherishing in their midst. Upwards of five thousand copies of this Address, with a Statistical Appendix, have been distributed, amongst the various religious denominations in the United Kingdom and the ministers connected with them. This measure has been attended with the most encouraging results. Resolutions have been founded upon them, and passed unanimously in public meetings and congregational gatherings, and earnest appeals to corresponding denominations in America have been adopted, and forwarded to your Committee, to be transmitted to the United States. The subject has also been adverted to at the annual meetings of some of our religious and benevolent associations, and public attention has thus been forcibly directed to the monstrous anomaly existing in America, of professedly Christian ministers openly defending the abomination of slavery, as a Divine institution, or observing upon the subject a scarcely less culpable silence. Towards such individuals as are identified with so deplorable a state of things, the religious sentiment of this country has suggested the observance of a line of conduct which, it is hoped, may prove alike a solemn rebuke and a significant warning.

And here your Committee would advert to the strenuous efforts which the slave-power in the United States is making to consolidate the iniquitous institution against which public opinion is now so thoroughly aroused. Not only have several of the States passed new and most oppressive laws, involving the liberties and the rights of the free-coloured population, but the recently elected President, the nominee of the democratic party, has solemnly announced his intention of adopting every means in his power to enforce the observance of the atrociously wicked Fugitive Slave Law. It is, nevertheless, highly gratifying to reflect, that although that law has now been three years in operation, and numerous captures have been effected under it, the whole number of renditions has not exceeded fifty. Some of them, however, have taken place under circumstances of an acutely distressing nature, whilst, in other respects, the operation of the law has been productive of most deplorable results. To these, and to other facts connected with the actual position of the Pro-Slavery party, and that of the Abolitionists of America, a more extended reference will be made in the detailed Report which will shortly be published by your Committee.

With respect to the West-India Colonies, generally, their position may be regarded as full of promise. Nearly all of them exhibit

a progressive, and, in some instances, a rapid increase in their exports of sugar, combined with an improved condition of the labourer. Jamaica, however, pursues her career of disaster and decay, without making any visible efforts at self-improvement. Possessing within herself every element of wealth, nothing seems wanting to secure her commercial prosperity, but that whilst claiming aid from the mother-country, she should assume the initiative in those measures which are essential to her welfare, and which include the emendation of her vicious constitution, and a more economical expenditure. Unfortunately, Jamaica has been made to represent the British West-Indies, and her actual condition is pointed at by slaveholders, as a proof of the failure of Negro Emancipation. Her own mismanagement however, consequent on the non-residence of her proprietors, has reduced her to a position of comparatively small importance; her export of sugar being now far below that of the small island of Barbadoes.

Your Committee regret to have their attention still directed to attempts on the part of some of the Colonial Legislatures to pass laws oppressive in their operation on the labouring classes, and to measures effecting immigration, and controlling the immigrants, which are of a most objectionable character. Your Committee, however, will continue to watch this subject, and strenuously to oppose the introduction of any measures likely to interfere with the just rights of the emancipated classes, or calculated to retard their religious and social advancement.

On the whole, your Committee rejoice in the belief, that the prospects of the Anti-Slavery cause are highly encouraging. Free labour is rapidly superseding slave labour in the production of nearly all those commodities—with the exception of tobacco and cotton—which constitute the staple of our colonial trade, and enter most largely into our home consumption. Coffee, rum, rice and sugar, are now imported in immense quantities from our Emancipated Colonies, or from our Eastern possessions; and to these articles we may add indigo, formerly almost the exclusive product of Carolina. With regard to sugar, the latest returns exhibit a yearly increasing production, the quantity now furnished by free labour, greatly exceeding that formerly obtained by slave labour. Very considerable importations of tobacco, the growth of free countries, also indicate progress in this direction, though Cuba, Virginia, and Maryland still supply the greatest proportion of what is consumed in this country.

There is, however, one commodity, namely, raw cotton, of which an immense proportion is derived from the Slave States of the Union. The enormously increasing demand for this

article, owing to the prodigious development of our cotton manufactures, has imparted renewed strength to the system of American Slavery, two-thirds of the entire quantity raised—and almost exclusively by slave labour—being taken by Great Britain alone. It may, therefore, truly be alleged, that the demand for cotton, in this country, is the main support of American slavery. For this reason, your Committee watch with deep interest, every effort that is made to encourage the more extensive cultivation of this important staple by free labour, in India and other countries, or to open fresh sources whence it may be supplied. They would refer, with much satisfaction, to the last very encouraging report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on this subject, and to the movement now in progress for promoting a reform in the government of India. Nor can your Committee refrain from dwelling, in this place, on the immense moral effect which would be produced upon the American Slaveholder, if all who profess an interest in the Anti-slavery cause, would abstain, as far as lies in their power, from the consumption of the products of slave labour; they would thus impart to their protest against slavery, the moral force which their opposition lacks, so long as their hands are not free from direct participation in the guilt of so heinous a system.

With relation to this subject, your Committee have observed, with satisfaction, the increasing interest which is being manifested in the free-labour movement. The various Free-Labour Associations organized in different parts of the country, have prosecuted their quiet labours with unremitting zeal, and met with more extended sympathy. Your Committee have had their attention especially directed to the subject, and it is probable, that steps will soon be taken to place the whole question on a substantial basis, with a view to afford the public every facility that is at present available for carrying the principle into practice.

Your Committee will take leave to introduce here, a minute which was passed on the 3rd of October last, with relation to their late Secretary, Mr. John Scoble.

"The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in parting with their Secretary, JOHN SCOBLE, who from personal and family considerations is about to settle in Western Canada, feel it due to him to record their high estimate of the able, self-denying and invaluable services that he has rendered during a long period of years to the Anti-Slavery cause, especially in connexion with the successful efforts that have been made for the Abolition of Slavery and the 'apprenticeship' in various portions of the British Empire, and the subsequent preservation of the rights of those whose freedom had been thus secured. The Committee would further express their earnest wish for the health and welfare of John Scoble, with his estimable wife and

family, in their intended place of abode, and warmly commend them to the kind notice of the friends of humanity and religion in Canada."

Your Committee would next refer, with much satisfaction, to those noble Addresses from the Women of England to the Women of America, on the subject of American Slavery, which have recently been presented to an eminent lady, now sojourning in this country, and who has kindly undertaken to lay them before her countrywomen. To the distinguished personages who originated this expression of womanly sentiment, and especially to Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland, and to the Earl of Shaftesbury; and to those ladies who so gracefully seconded their efforts, and were instrumental in procuring the large number of nearly six hundred thousand signatures, a special tribute is due. When those whom a kind Providence has so highly favoured, are thus forward in promoting good works, oppressed humanity may indulge in renewed hope that the day of its deliverance is indeed at hand.

But although your Committee have reason to be grateful for the large measure of success with which their labours have been crowned hitherto, the desperate efforts which the Slave-power in America is making to extend and perpetuate the hateful institution of Slavery, demands increased watchfulness, and unabated exertion on the part of your Society. If it be objected that Slavery has been removed from British soil, and therefore it is not our province to interfere, in order to effect its eradication in foreign lands, the emphatic reply is; that no civilized nation can remain unaffected by a system, which, though operating afar off, brings disgrace on civilization; and that no professedly Christian community can view the perpetration of an enormous iniquity by another people professing the same religion, without feeling that their common faith is outraged and scandalized. Your Committee therefore assert, that for the credit of civilization, for the welfare of humanity, and for the honour and the interests of Religion, we are bound to employ all moral and pacific means to extirpate that unrighteous system, which so long as it exists inflicts the foulest outrage upon them all.

But your Society can only hope to achieve this great object, through that same public opinion, which, in modern times, has been found so potent to accomplish the mightiest changes, and which, sustained by correct religious sentiment, has proved irresistible. Looking, therefore, to the influence of public opinion, as the chief means by which Slavery is to be abolished, yet fully alive to the extreme difficulty of impressing society at large, with a sense of the importance and efficacy of a simultaneous demonstration of sentiment on this question, your Committee

have hailed, with heartfelt satisfaction, the appearance of those noble works which are identified with the name of **HARRIET BEECHER STOWE**: works which by their intrinsic excellence and truthfulness have deservedly achieved a success unprecedented in the annals of literature, and aroused a universal spirit of opposition to Slavery, that they trust will not again slumber, until this monster iniquity shall be utterly suppressed. For having accomplished this so effectually and in so eminently a Christian spirit, the cause of the slave owes **HARRIET BEECHER STOWE** a deep debt of gratitude, which the emancipated generations of a degraded and despised people now held in ignominious bondage will repay with unnumbered blessings, whilst cherishing, as "household words," her works and her name in their hearts.

An abstract of the balance sheet for the year ending 30th April, 1853, was presented, which exhibited: total receipts by donations and subscriptions (including a balance in the hands of the Treasurer at the commencement of the year, of £118 17s. 7d.) £842 19s. 4d., against a total expenditure of £1071 11s. 2d., leaving a balance due to the Treasurer of £228 11s. 10d.

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, and seconded by the Rev. Wm. Arthur.

Mr. Joseph Sturge rose and read a list of the names of the gentlemen forming the Committee, and to propose that to the list of Corresponding Members should be added the names of Professor Stowe, the Rev. H. Beecher, and the Rev. S. R. Ward of Canada.

The Earl of Shaftesbury then put the 1st resolution, which was as follows:

I.—"That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be adopted, and circulated under the direction of the Committee; and that the gentlemen whose names have been read, be the Committee and the office-bearers for the ensuing year."

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Rev. Wm. Brock moved the second resolution:

II.—"That this meeting, deeply impressed with a conviction of the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and of the doctrine that a human being may be made a chattel, and become property to his fellow-man, deem it especially incumbent upon them, at this time, most solemnly to assert the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation, as the only one that is consistent with the rights of the slave, and the duty of the master. And this meeting regarding the maintenance of Slavery, in professedly Christian communities, as a disgrace to humanity, a dis-

honour to civilization, and an outrage upon religion, would therefore emphatically affirm it as their deliberate conviction, that it is the imperative duty of professing Christians, of all denominations and in all countries, to lift up their voices in uncompromising condemnation of an iniquity so monstrous; and zealously and perseveringly to employ all moral and pacific means to effect its removal."

This resolution was seconded by the Rev. S. R. Ward.

Mr. Geo. Wm. Alexander read a letter from the Earl of Carlisle, apologising for unavoidable absence, and another from Count Lavradio, to the same effect, but expressing his cordial sympathy with the objects of the meeting, and with those of the Society.

The Rev. John Burnet supported the resolution, which having been put, was also unanimously assented to.

Professor Stowe then came forward to move the 3rd resolution, and was received with tumultuous applause. The resolution was as follows:

III.—"That with a view to the correction of public sentiment on this subject in slaveholding communities, it is of the first importance that those who are earnest in condemnation of slavery, should observe consistency; and, therefore, that it is their duty to encourage the development of the natural resources of countries where slavery does not exist, and the soil of which is adapted to the growth of products—especially of cotton—now partially or chiefly raised by slave labour; and though the extinction of Slavery is less to be expected from a diminished demand for slave-produce than from the moral effects of a steadfast abhorrence of Slavery itself, and from an unwavering and a consistent opposition to it; this meeting would earnestly recommend, that in all cases where it is practicable, a decided preference should be given to the products of free labour, by all who enter their protest against Slavery, so that at least, they, themselves, may be clear of any participation in the guilt of the system, and be thus morally strengthened in their condemnation of it."

The Rev. Charles Beecher seconded the resolution, which was carried without a dissentient voice.

Lieut.-Col. P. Thompson moved, and Mr. George Cruickshank seconded the 4th resolution:

IV.—"That this meeting whilst deeply lamenting the oppressive enactments which several of the States of the American Union have recently passed, with respect to their free-coloured population, and which are not only calculated to perpetuate prejudice against colour, but the ultimate and avowed object of which is the forcible removal of free-born men from the land of their birth; and whilst regretting that the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law is likely to be still maintained,

and even more rigorously enforced than heretofore, would, nevertheless, record their satisfaction at the encouraging signs which are manifesting themselves in that country. Recognizing the powerful influence of public opinion to accomplish the most important moral, social, and political changes, this meeting would gratefully acknowledge the signal services which, under the Divine blessing, have been rendered to the Anti-Slavery Cause, by the Writers who have infused a new spirit into the literature of the day, and held up Slavery to universal reprobation; by the Politicians who have denounced it; and by Abolitionists generally, both in England and America, who by their long and arduous labours, their unwearied investigations, and their uncompromising fidelity to the cause of the enslaved and oppressed, have been mainly instrumental in forming that public opinion, which has recently been evoked in so striking a manner."

Carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Joseph Sturge, seconded by Mr. George Wm. Alexander, the following motion was agreed to:

V.—"That this meeting desires to record its grateful sense of the courtesy and kindness of the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY in taking the Chair on this occasion, and for the efficient manner in which his Lordship has conducted the proceedings of the evening."

His Lordship having returned thanks in a few appropriate and touching words, the meeting broke up at ten o'clock.

SAMUEL R. WARD, OF CANADA.

This gentleman, a minister of the Independent denomination, is now in England, on a mission in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada. He brings letters of recommendation from the officers and committee of the society he represents, and from J. Scoble, Esq., our late Secretary.

Mr. Ward's objects are to speak on the subject of slavery generally; to give facts in relation to the demands and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in Canada, and the actual condition of the coloured refugees in Canada. He proposes to solicit contributions in aid of the funds of the Society he represents, and to aid it in abolitionizing Canada, and in making temporary provisions for destitute fugitives upon their arrival in Canada.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

By Mr. Quant at the following places.

Hitchin, Herts, on the 2nd and 3rd May. Royston, Herts, on the 5th. Biggleswade, on the 6th. Bedford, on the 9th. Ampthill, on the 10th. Luton, on the 11th and 12th. And Dunstable, on the 13th.

By the Rev. E. Mathews of Winconsin.

Torrington, May 2nd, in the Town-hall; the Mayor in the chair. Barnstable, on the 3rd. Appledon, on the 4th. Bideford, on the 5th.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1st, 1853.

IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

In the March number of the *Reporter* we gave our readers an outline of the case of *Manuel Pereira*, on which Mr. Consul Mathews, late H. B. Majesty's representative at Charleston, had raised the question, of the right of the local government of Carolina to imprison and detain British coloured subjects in violation of treaties with the Union; and we also presented them with a summary of the points involved, and of the then state of the whole matter. On Friday, the 20th ult., the following conversation on this subject took place in the House of Commons.

"Mr. Kinnaird inquired what was the condition of the negotiations with the Government of South Carolina respecting British subjects taken out of British ships at Charleston, lodged in gaol, and charged a considerable sum for their maintenance there?"

"Lord Palmerston replied, that he was not able to state the precise condition of the negotiation; but the question was one of great interest and considerable difficulty. The slave States in the south of the American Union had passed laws, which he should forbear from characterizing, but the result of which was that any man of colour belonging to the crew of any ship which arrived at a port in a slave State was immediately arrested, and kept in gaol so long as the vessel remained in the port. The British Government for a long course of time had represented to the Government of the United States that such a proceeding was a violation of treaties with the Union at large. That assertion had not, he believed, been denied by the Federal Government, but the constitution of the United States was such that the action of the Federal Government on the separate States was next to nothing; and it had been fairly represented to the British Government by the Federal Government that to insist on the repeal of those laws under which the proceedings in question took place, and which, whatever they in England might think of them, arose out of the feelings of the local States, would raise questions between those States and the Federal Government which would be exceedingly inconvenient, if not destructive, to the Union. The British Consul at Charleston, by instructions from his Government, had entered into communication with the local Government for the purpose of obtaining certain modifications of the obnoxious laws, but up to the time when he (Lord Palmerston) left the Foreign-office, he knew that the negotiations had not led to any satisfactory result; and he much feared, though

he was not precisely informed on the subject, that they had not ended in any desirable arrangement. Nevertheless, the attention of the Government, he was confident, was still directed to the subject, and no efforts would be omitted calculated to establish a more satisfactory state of things."

To the foregoing we may add, that the District Judge of the United States' Court in Charleston has recently decided against the British claims respecting the coloured laws. An appeal will now ensue to the United States' Supreme Court at Washington, the issue of which we shall await with much anxiety. Meanwhile it is important that the subject should be agitated at home, for, as yet, the public mind has to be informed on the various important aspects of this question.

The work to which we called attention in our last, called *Manuel Pereira*, by Mr. C. F. Adams, presents a truthful account of the operation of the coloured laws, and of the sufferings which it is the means of inflicting upon those who fall under it.

SLAVERY AND INDIA REFORM.

We alluded, in our last month's number, to the question of India reform in connection with American slavery. Lord John Russell has since announced, that, on the 3rd instant, he will submit to Parliament the intentions of the Government with reference to the administration of the affairs of India. We fear, however, that the measures to be proposed will be far from satisfactory, although it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the subject, so extensive are its ramifications. As Abolitionists, we have to consider it only as it bears upon American Slavery, and in this respect it will be found deserving of our most serious attention. If the products of slave labour are ever to be undersold by bringing into competition with them the produce of free labour—and we would be understood as now referring exclusively to cotton—it is manifest that we must look for our supplies to those countries to which this plant is indigenous; where labour is cheap as well as free; and where it can be raised in sufficient quantities to meet our enormous demand. Now this is emphatically the case in British India; and were it not for the obstacles which the India Government has interposed to the development of the natural resources of that fine country, Great Britain would long ago have been independent of America for the supply of the staple on which the prosperity of our manufacturing trade depends. The American slave-system would thus have been starved out, and the slaveholders been compelled to emancipate their slaves, simply on account of their labour's becoming unprofitable.

To denounce slavery and those who live by its profits, and yet knowingly to con-

sume its products, is, to say the least of it, an act of gross inconsistency. On the other hand, to abstain from the consumption of them, is, for the masses, simply impracticable at present. Cotton fabrics have come into such general use, and are so economical, that as the rule, and though slavery be in the other scale, sentiment will be found to kick the beam. It is true that, in many cases, linen may be substituted for cotton; but there is a difference of a hundred per cent. at least, in their relative price: and this will prove a potent argument in favour of cotton, though it be even slave-grown. Besides this arithmetical obstacle, others of a strictly sanitary nature contribute to shut out linen from general use; let alone that cotton enters almost exclusively into the manufacture of those articles which are most in request for the adornment of the fairer sex, and that there is no other known substitute at present. But whilst we state these as so many simple facts, we desire not to be misunderstood as underrating attempts, made for conscience' sake, to carry out the free labour movement. As a moral protest, its significance is not to be denied; and we look to it as a most potent instrumentality to keep alive the anti-slavery zeal of those, who whilst protesting against slavery, desire to be consistent, and to do something more than simply express indignation at a system which is only supported by the demand for its proceeds. Under present circumstances, however, and until free-labour cotton come into the market in such quantities and on such terms as to enable it to compete with that which is produced by slave labour, the free-labour movement must not be looked to as a direct anti-slavery instrumentality, or as likely to effect much for the extinction of slavery. The time will come, no doubt, when free labour will starve out slave labour, and the most important step towards accomplishing this great object, would be the introduction of a reform in the management of the affairs of India, which would lead to a more extensive cultivation of cotton in that country, and to the introduction of improved means of communication between the various districts of the interior. Such a reform is imperatively required, if the natural resources of that vast empire are to be ever developed and turned to account. It is a provoking anomaly that our cotton-mills should be made dependent upon America and American slaveholders through the mismanagement of a select board of officials, sitting in conclave in Leadenhall-street, when we have almost at our own doors, the means of procuring as much raw cotton as we require, by simply removing the barriers which these gentlemen have so long placed between our markets and native free industry and enterprise. Does an abuse come to light? the double government renders it next to impossible to fix responsibility.

Delays also intervene further to obstruct the course of justice or of progress. We will illustrate this by one fact. When the last charter-act was passed, twenty years ago, the evils of the judicial system then in operation were so palpable, that it was resolved to codify the laws. For this purpose a special legal commission was appointed. It commenced its labours and ultimately produced a code, which was sent home for revision. It was then referred back to India, and subsequently sent home a second time, each operation requiring some years to accomplish. The project has now fallen asleep somewhere between the India House and the Board of Control; and the judicial system, with its abuses and anomalies, remains where it was. Nor is this all. The minuteness of the details which are sent home, on any subject, is carried to such a point, that a single despatch, including the papers to elucidate it, occasionally extends to 20,000 pages: one actually reached 45,000. As a consequence, the authorities cannot easily, sometimes not at all, make acquaintance with the contents of these enormous despatches, and they either remain unanswered, or a reply is postponed for a whole year, by which time the subject has lost its interest, or passed almost out of mind. These facts will suffice to explain how it is that the question of the growth of cotton in India for the English market has been under consideration for seventy years, without producing any results, thus effectually closing one of the most important channels through which American slavery can be reached in a vital point.

In agitating this question, our great object must be kept in view; and the main point to be aimed at is, the immediate establishment of one responsible Board, subject to the control of Parliament, so that the India Government, as it is at present constituted, shall not be tied up and existing abuses permitted for another twenty years. A measure of this kind is only to be obtained by making India reform a popular question, and agitating it as such until the desired end be accomplished. It is sufficient, for us to insist upon it, that we feel persuaded of its importance as one means of weakening the system of slavery. Let the slaveholders of America but see that we are making an effort to get uncontaminated cotton from our own Indian possessions—as we undoubtedly can if we only determine to have it—and they will soon begin to count the cost of slave labour, instead of smirking complacently over their present large gains, meanwhile plying the lash on the slave with redoubled vigour, quite content to smile at our declamation, whilst they pocket the dollars.

THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

It is our painful duty to call the attention of our readers to the following fearful narration, published in a recent number of the *Times*, as extracted from the *New York Times* of the 23rd of April. It is a description of the landing of a cargo of slaves on the Cuban coast, in flagrant violation of the treaties with Great Britain, and presents a frightful picture of the atrocities that are committed in the prosecution of this inhuman and revolting traffic.

“Matanzas, Saturday, April 2.

“I have already apprised you of the success of Don Antonio Capo in landing a cargo of slaves at Guazima. In my present letter I propose to supply you with some of the particulars of the business, and with the subsequent fate of the parties concerned in it.

“After getting his human freight fairly ashore at the place I have mentioned, Capo presented himself at the entrance of the harbour of Cardenas, with the American colours at his mast-head, and signaled for a pilot. Having procured one, the vessel was directed to the lee-side of the Cayo Piedra, where it was run aground and set fire to; it was burning throughout an entire day; and all this was done with the knowledge and consent of the authorities of Cardenas.

“Some 1,100 or 1,200 negroes were ‘run in.’ The original cargo exceeded 1,300. About 200 perished in the course of the voyage, in consequence of attempts to release themselves, three several efforts having been made unsuccessfully. I need hardly tell you how strongly Cuban feeling is excited by these transactions. The subject was at once brought to the notice of the British Consul, who was informed with regard to the minutest particulars by means of a negress, who was one of the kidnapped, and who had been purchased by a friend of mine. The girl disclosed to three or four of us, in secret session, all that had transpired on the voyage; and by dint of close inquiry we were enabled to furnish the Consul not only with notes of the information drawn from her, but with every detail regarding the names of the partners in the enterprise, the officers of the vessel, and the crew. The Consul acted with the utmost promptitude. Taking with him the Belgian and American Consuls, he proceeded at once to the palace and demanded an interview with the Captain-General. He had previously armed himself with a copy of the *Cronica* by way of a text; and producing it, he complained to his Excellency that that paper had insulted him by publishing the grossest libels and falsehoods respecting his conduct, and that his Excellency ought to be aware that as British Consul it was his duty to be on the watch to see that the treaties of Spain with his Government were executed to the very letter.

“Canedo said, in reply, that the publication had been made in a foreign country, and that, however flagrant the falsehood, he had no means of punishing it.

“The Consul persisted that it was not only in foreign countries that the Spanish papers took such liberties. His Excellency had only to turn to the *Diario de la Marina* to find similar slan-

ders; but while he (the Consul) despised this insolent language, proper only to the corrupt and infamous lips that uttered it, he could not but grieve to see the slave-trade flourish with unabated success, and slaves daily land on the island.

"'It is not so, Senor Consul; it is not so,' answered Canedo; 'the trade is constantly decreasing; not so much on account of the vast expense your Government is at in sustaining fleets to repress it, for I alone am sufficient to insure that not a single negro now finds his way into Cuba.'

"'Then, how is it,' proceeded the Consul, 'that only two days ago 1,200 negroes were landed in the Signapa, at a place called La Guazima?'

"'It is not possible,' replied the General.

"'As your Excellency doubts it,' said the Consul, beckoning to two of the negroes who waited at the foot of the stairs, 'here are two of the Africans landed among the rest.'

"General Canedo affected to be overwhelmed with surprise, and said he should have to take to hanging and killing to put a stop to these outrages. The Consul informed him how many days the vessel had spent on the voyage; who the owners were, their relative shares, and their residences; the persons to whom the negroes had been sold, and where they might be found; not omitting to mention the massacre of 200 *en voyage*; and then demanded that a commission should at once be named, who should make a summary inquiry, and punish the offenders with all the rigour of the law.

"In consequence of this interview Brigadier Morales Rada was sent to this city by the Captain-General as a commissioner to examine the case. He forthwith caused the several 'armadores,' or owners of the ship, to be arrested. I send you some of their names:—Dr. Aguabella; Antonio Muxua, an attorney, who recently married the widow of Vega y Caceres, and so became a party interested; Aramabe, an ironfounder; N. AGUIRRE, a merchant; Bartolome Caranas, an apothecary; and Don Francisco Vinageras, brother of the Alcalde, and the only Creole implicated. Each of these was interested to the extent of \$12,000, and was held to bail, notwithstanding the law prohibits bail in criminal cases, to answer the charge. Don Jose Baro, another partner, succeeded in eluding the officers. The examination brought out the atrocity of the affair in the broadest light. Capo directed his course to a Portuguese (negro) colony on the coast of Caffraria, and finding they had no negroes to sell, he determined to fill his ship without being at the expense of a purchase. He therefore took every possible means to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants and secure their confidence, awaiting an opportunity for a *coup de main*. When the time struck him as favourable, the whole population was bidden to a splendid feast on board ship, and plied with drugged rum until the great mass of them were completely stupefied with their potations. Orders were then signaled to the crew to make all sail, and when the unfortunate wretches recovered their senses they found themselves out of sight of shore, and those of their company who had been more moderate in their cups already secured in irons. Naturally enough, they attempted the

first thing to release themselves, by rising on their kidnappers. But they possessed no weapons, while the crew was large, and armed at all points; so that, notwithstanding repeated efforts to liberate themselves, they were uniformly over-mastered. These encounters were murderous. Large numbers were thrown overboard or cut to pieces with knife and sabre; so that the loss of life during the trip was at least 200 persons. Of those who survived, and whom the agents of Government have received since the landing, 100 are at this moment in our hospital, undergoing surgical treatment for sabre-cuts, stabs, and other wounds of greater or less severity received from the kidnapping ruffians who captured them. Many of the negroes are Portuguese, and all of them are intelligent, and above the ordinary level of native Africans.

"The Government inquiry, as was to be anticipated, has ended in additional fraud and corruption. Neither Capo, his brother, Dr. Giberga, who acted as surgeon of the vessel, nor any of the crew have been arrested. The investigation was confined to the partners, some of whose names I have given you; and, after dragging along for some time, was suddenly hushed up. The defendants agreed to compromise their crime by delivering 300 of the negroes to the Government, each culprit contributing to the amount according to his interest in the venture. Accompanied as it was with pecuniary considerations, the bribe was irresistible. The bargain was at once closed, Pavia, Governor of Matanzas, Marcotegui, and Morales Rada, the three commissioners, ratifying it on behalf of General Canedo; and, as the affair was completed at the Coliseum, the bargain is called the 'Treaty of the Coliseum' out of doors. The parties to this infamous transaction walk the streets in insolent impunity, secure from all the consequences of their crime. And why? To use the language of a distinguished Government official, incautiously dropped soon after the arrest, the prosecution would not be permitted to go to any great length, because the parties inculpated were Spaniards—that is, not Creoles. And this is the result of the Consul's interference. It only made the Insular Government a larger participant in the profits of the iniquity than if the whole thing had been permitted to go unheeded. Some few of the negroes were released, and the rest allowed to pass into the mass of hopeless negro servitude."

We question much whether, in the palmy days of this atrocious traffic, a shipment of slaves ever took place under circumstances more barbarous. The horrors of the middle passage have often been dwelt upon, and many persons have doubted the authenticity of the details disclosed under the close investigations of Committees: but this transaction is sufficient to show how difficult it is to exaggerate them. The subject has, we are glad to find, engaged the attention of both houses of Parliament, though we can gather very little from the discussion that is encouraging. At the present moment we are disbursing no less a sum than £47,000 for the suppression of the slave-trade, exclusively of the cost of

cruisers. This large amount would seem to be almost wholly thrown away, so long as the Spanish Government is permitted to break faith with us, and whilst professing a desire to suppress this abominable trade in human flesh and blood, its connivance at it is tolerated. The sending of a larger naval force to the coast of Cuba, to promote the suppression of the traffic, may be productive of partial success, but, as in the case of Brazil, it is notorious that such success depends more on the local government than on any augmentation of our forces. A cordon of frigates around the island of Cuba would not accomplish, in a year, what the Captain-General has it in his own power to effect at once. If this functionary will not do his duty, the Cabinet of Madrid has the remedy in its own hands, and the British Government surely possesses a right to suggest that it should be applied: in other words, that Don Canedo be forthwith recalled, and a worthier man sent to take his place.

The following conversation on this subject took place in the House of Commons on Friday, the 20th ult., on the vote being taken for the sum of £16,840, to defray the cost of civil establishments on the coast of Africa.

"Sir G. Pechell, when on the subject of foreign consuls, wished to call the attention of the noble lord to what had recently occurred in Cuba, in connexion with the African slave-trade. They were aware that vessels, not rigged like slavers, and not suspected of being so, had gone to the coast of Africa, and having invited great numbers of blacks on board, on pretence of a feast, had kidnapped them, and afterwards landed them in the island of Cuba. The British Consul, it appeared, had taken the matter up, and the Captain-General was glad to compromise the affair by giving up 200 or 300 of the negroes. This presented a new feature in the mode of carrying on the slave-trade, and he hoped the attention of the Government would be vigorously directed to the subject.

"Lord J. Russell said, the hon. baronet had correctly stated the circumstances of the case. Attempts had been made to carry on the slave-trade in the way he had stated, and the attention of the Government had been directed to the subject. The British Consul had shown great activity with regard to the matter in Cuba, and an additional force had been sent to promote the suppression of the trade. He could assure the hon. gentleman that nothing would be wanting on the part of the Government to advance the object which he had in view."

On the 23rd May, in the House of Lords, Lord Brougham made the following observations on presenting a petition from a Mr. Alexander Stewart, a West India proprietor, who complained of the policy of 1845, with regard to the sugar duties.

"This gentleman had invested large sums of money in the purchase of freeholds in Jamaica; that he had been one of the most prosperous of

planters, but that now the whole of his estates and securities were absolutely unremunerative; that not one acre of his land was he able to sell or in any way dispose of; and that the entire of his property, which was the accumulation of his own industry, and to the enjoyment of which, therefore, he was entitled, had been swept away. He attributed this in a great measure to the policy of 1846, and he had always argued, not only that such would be its effect upon private enterprise, but that the direct, inevitable, and immediate tendency of that measure would be the almost incalculable increase of the African slave-trade. He did not think, however, that the steps which we then unwisely took were now to be retraced. It was too late for that; but we might do all we could, and he doubted not that his noble friends opposite were, one and all, zealously and resolutely bent on doing all they could to accomplish that great object, the general abolition of the slave-trade, the partial abolition only of which formed no little part of the grievances of our colonial fellow-subjects. It was with horror he had only lately seen it announced, as one of the ordinary articles of commercial intelligence, that a vessel had landed its cargo of human beings on the island of Cuba, and that out of her had been put on shore no fewer than 600 miserable slaves."

The Earl of Clarendon.—"There were 1100!"

Lord Brougham continued.—"Eleven hundred! 600 was bad enough; that there were 1100 only aggravated his horror. Three years ago he had called upon his noble friend opposite to state what information he had received of the proceedings which were being taken by the United States' Government against the 'Cuban Expedition'—against that act which they all agreed in stigmatizing as piracy of the worst and foulest description. He rejoiced to think that subsequent information reached them of that great Government of the United States having done its duty with respect to those pirates—of its having resisted the efforts of that mob urged on by a base passion for mere lucre—and of its having suppressed, he believed successfully, the Cuban piracy. Upon that same view, then, seeing that Spain would have looked upon that expedition as a manifest breach of the law of nations if it had not been suppressed by the Government of the State where it had originated, might we not now say that there was a worse piracy in operation—a grosser breach of the law of nations—and that there had been a crime and a piracy committed against that law still worse in its nature and effects than the Cuban expedition? He meant the piracy whereby that vessel was loaded on the coast of Africa, partly with unhappy Africans seized by main force, and partly with those miserable creatures trepanned by mere fraud—whereby that Spanish slaver was loaded, and carried across the Atlantic, through all the horrors of the middle passage, that cargo of human beings? His noble friend opposite knew much better than he did what was the state of our relations with Spain on the subject of the African slave-trade. It had been made illegal in Spain many years ago. In 1835, more measures were taken for the effectual suppression of that trade, and the introduction of slaves into the Havannah was reduced from 28,000 or 30,000 per annum to 12,000 or 14,000. Under General O'Donnell,

however, it had again revived; and the question which he wished to put was, whether any steps had been taken lately by means of our consuls to ascertain with whom rested the blame of these recent transactions?"

The Earl of Clarendon said, "he wished it were in his power to give a satisfactory answer to the appeal which his noble and learned friend had so eloquently addressed to him; but he was sorry to say that the particular case to which he had referred—though he trusted it stood singly in point of extreme horror and atrocity—was by no means the only case of the kind which had come within the knowledge of her Majesty's Government in the present year. He deeply regretted to say that the slave-trade was now carried on to a very considerable extent with Cuba. In relation to the peculiarly fearful case to which his noble and learned friend had referred, our Consul-General at the Havannah, who was exercising the most energetic and active zeal in his endeavours to check this horrible traffic, reported that, under the penal laws of the island, or, at all events, under the interpretation of those laws by the local authorities, it was forbidden to follow newly-imported negroes into the estates of the proprietors who had purchased them as slaves; so that the slaves, having been once conveyed across the limits of those estates, were secured from being rescued, though their landing might have been under the very eyes of the authorities. The horrors of the sufferings endured by the unfortunate negroes in the particular instance now brought under the notice of their lordships, might at once be imagined, when he mentioned that the vessel in which these 1,300 poor creatures were packed for their long voyage was of only 400 tons burden; on the way an attempt was made by them to liberate themselves; in that attempt 200 of them were killed, so that only 1,100 arrived in Cuba, of which number our Consul-General, by the most determined and persevering efforts, succeeded in rescuing 300. Her Majesty's ministers had, however, received from the Spanish Government the most solemn assurances that henceforth the treaty should be observed, and our ambassador at Madrid, Lord Howden, had been shown by the late Spanish secretary for foreign affairs a private letter from the present Captain-General of Cuba, assuring him, on his word of honour, that he would act in a manner that should be satisfactory to the British Government in this respect. He (Lord Clarendon) would only add that no effort on the part of her Majesty's Government should be spared to check, if they could not wholly suppress, this most iniquitous traffic. He believed that our own efforts would be more effectual than any treaties to this most desirable end, and he had the satisfaction to state that the cruisers which we had placed on the coast of Cuba to intercept slavers, had already, within the present year, captured six of these traders returning home with their cargoes of slaves. An earnest appeal had been addressed on the subject by her Majesty's ministers to the Government of the United States, and he felt quite certain that that Government would do its utmost to prevent its flag from being degraded in the manner that had been described."

Lord Wharnccliffe paid a tribute to the efforts

which had been made by General Concha, the successor of General O'Donnell, to check the slave-trade into Cuba—efforts which had reduced the number of slaves imported into Cuba in the course of the year to 5,000.

The conversation then dropped.

The whole of this conversation is unsatisfactory, for it leads to nothing. The Spanish Government has made the same professions over and over again. Every fresh delinquency is to be the last; "only this once, and positively we will leave off," has been the reply year after year, and in this way the traffic has gone on. No doubt it is a thriving trade, or we may be sure American adventurers would not engage in it. We have it on the most positive authority, which the subjoined extract from the *New York Times* of the 22nd April corroborates, that the American flag shields many a slave-clipper from the vigilance of the cruisers.

"We learn from a credible source that three Portuguese captains and one Catalan merchant arrived from Cuba by the Cherokee and Black Warrior steamers, and are now in this city making arrangements for despatching vessels to the coast of Africa to engage in the slave-trade between that coast and Cuba. They have already contracted for three clippers to be built at Baltimore, and are making other preparations in this city. It is known that there are in this city several mercantile houses extensively engaged in the slave-trade, and that half-a-dozen vessels have recently left this and other American ports for the African coast. These vessels clear for some Cuban port, where they never arrive; and, being provided with false papers and sailing under the American flag, they succeed in reaching the coast, obtaining cargoes of slaves, and landing them in Cuba, with the connivance and complicity of the Spanish authorities. Our correspondence from Havannah has contained important statements on this subject from time to time. Our authorities would do well to exercise more than ordinary vigilance in regard to vessels clearing for Cuban ports."

Since the date of the above intelligence, we learn that 600 more slaves, brought by the clipper *Lady Suffolk*, have been landed on the coast of Cuba, in broad day-light, and under the open or implied sanction of the Government of the island. This shows that neither the Captain-general of Cuba nor the Cabinet of Madrid regards the stipulations of treaties, the rights of humanity, or the public sentiment of the world.

With respect to the 300 victims whom the Earl of Clarendon refers to as having been rescued from slavery, we should like to have satisfactory grounds for believing that their misfortunes are at an end. They will now come under the category of *emancipados*, and will be hired out for terms varying in duration. Now, whilst we are paying above £21,000 a year for the support of captured and liberated negroes, and nearly £9,000 more for the

expenses of the mixed commissions for the suppression of the slave-trade, which, added to the sum of nearly £17,000, voted for the civil establishments on the coast of Africa, makes up the large sum of £47,000, exclusive of the enormous cost of cruisers; all of these establishments having for their object, to promote the suppression of the traffic in human beings; we say that in the face of so large an expenditure, our Government ought to be in a position at least to ensure the ultimate liberation of the *emancipados* Africans who are hired out to service for a term, but who, in reality, when once on a plantation, become nothing more than slaves. It is well known that when a negro dies on a plantation, his place is supplied by an *emancipado*, and the difficulties in the way of tracing these unfortunates are so numerous, and the obstructions so great, that the task becomes almost hopeless. The recent announcement, made by the Cabinet of Madrid to Lord Howden, that the Spanish Government had commanded the immediate liberation of the *emancipados* brought into Cuba prior to 1828, and that those introduced previous to 1835, should be set free at the expiration of their present term of servitude, appears to be a step in the right direction. Though, however, we are not disposed to refuse the Spanish Government the credit that may be due to it for even a tardy act of justice, we fear that the intended boon is rather nominal than real. In the first place we have no accurate data for ascertaining the number of those who are entitled to their freedom. Those of the class 1828, have been twenty-five years or more in the island, and it may be presumed that a very large proportion of them have been already removed by death. The same remark will apply to the class 1835. It is, indeed, probable that very few of either class remain to be set free. The condition of the *emancipados* is notoriously worse than that of the slaves, for as they do not represent any amount of capital, their masters have no interest in sparing them from excessive labour. Then, again, the substitution of an *emancipado* for a negro who dies on a plantation, and his conversion into a slave, is stated to be a common occurrence, so that, in numerous instances, all traces of them must be lost. This abuse might be avoided in future, if the commanders of her Majesty's cruisers could be instructed never to take their prize into a slave-port. The ports of our West India colonies are equally as available, and the captured Africans might there be at once set free, and thus supply the labour that in some of these islands is said to be so greatly needed.

We will, in conclusion, refer to one aspect of the question which, to our mind, is an important one. Several thousand Chinese have during the past year been induced to embark

at Amoy for Cuba, chiefly on British ships, and at the instigation of British agents. Lloyd's lists show that ten of these vessels have sailed from Cuba since the 18th of August last, carrying an average number of 300 each. Now who, knowing what Cuba is, can regard this immigration, without entertaining a well-grounded fear that these people may be consigned to hopeless slavery? It is stated that the Cubans actually make no secret of their intentions in this respect, though we cannot affirm the statement as one that is to be accepted implicitly. It will be our duty to watch this matter closely, for it would be a grievous reproach upon our Government, if British ships and British agents should be found to have been instrumental in placing fetters on free men.

SOIREE TO MRS. H. B. STOWE.

On Wednesday, the 25th ult., a *soirée* was given at Willis' Rooms, by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society*, for the purpose of presenting an address to Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. The rooms were very tastefully decorated, and the best arrangements had been made to accommodate the large company that was expected, and which began to arrive as early as seven o'clock. Long before the proceedings commenced the large room was crowded: we fear somewhat inconveniently. This, however, we may say was owing less to the number of persons present, than to the circumstance of the seats having been dragged into the centre of the room and close to the platform, so that free circulation, so desirable on such occasions, was to a great extent rendered impossible. A large plaster bust of Mrs. Stowe, by Mr. Neville Burnard of London, and which excited general admiration, was placed on the platform, and subsequently in front of it. It is an excellent likeness, and Mrs. Stowe has pronounced it to be the best which has yet been executed. The platform had been reserved exclusively for the members of the Committee, and those ladies who had kindly accepted the office of receiving Mrs. Stowe in the private room set apart for this purpose. It is to be regretted that several persons, not only strangers to all, but to the cause, took possession of the seats on the platform, to the exclusion of many in the room who had every right to be there, and to that of some of the members of the Committee. Mrs. Stowe, accompanied by Professor Stowe, was introduced to the assembly at half-past eight o'clock, by Messrs. Joseph Sturge and Geo. Wm. Alexander. She was received with a repetition of that applause which has greeted her public appearance everywhere since her arrival, and took her seat amidst the waving of handkerchiefs, and other more noisy demonstrations of welcome.

Mr. Joseph Sturge having been moved into the chair said that it was with extreme reluctance he took the position assigned to him, as until the last moment, the Earl of Shaftesbury had been expected. The Secretary would read a letter which this nobleman had addressed to him, and one from the Earl of Carlisle.

Mr. Chamerovzow then read the following letters:

"May 25, 1853.

"DEAR SIR,—When Mr. Sturge spoke to me about the *soirée* to Mrs. Stowe, I told him I had to attend at Chatham this day, to lay the first stone of a church, and afterwards open a ragged school in the evening. I added, that it would give me great pleasure to be present at the meeting, and show to Mrs. Stowe the respect that I so deeply feel. I observed, however, that it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to get away from Chatham sufficiently early for the ceremonial proposed. I will do my best, and if I can achieve it, will hasten back to execute the charge the Committee were so good as to propose to me. Your obedient servant,

"SHAFTESBURY.

"Mr. Chamerovzow.

"Should I not arrive in time, pray let my letter be read to the meeting."

The next was addressed to Mr. Sturge.

"DEAR MR. STURGE,—I feel all the honour conferred on me by the request you have conveyed to me, and I sincerely regret that it is quite out of my power to be present at your meeting on Wednesday, as I am obliged, on that day, to be in the most remote part of England, and cannot possibly perform the journey in time to be present. With my best wishes that your proceedings may be as satisfactory as they are desired to be, believe me, your faithful friend,

"CARLISLE."

Mr. Chamerovzow said that he had also received a note from the Duke of Sutherland regretting that his state of health prevented his attendance on this occasion, and some other communications from several members of the nobility, which he would, for convenience' sake, pass over.

Mr. Sturge observed that it might, perhaps, be satisfactory for him to state the course of the proceedings which they wished to take place that evening. The address would be first read, and then Professor Stowe would address the meeting—after which, as that was a social party, the formal business would close, in order to allow their friends an opportunity of being presented to their guest. He believed every one would be desirous of speaking to Mrs. Stowe, but he begged to add—and he was sure that all would appreciate the reason for it—that it had been found absolutely necessary to prohibit them from attempting to shake hands with her. They were so apt to forget their number in the desire to do so, and she was in such delicate health, that he was convinced they would excuse him for mentioning it. He suggested

that the company should move round the room from left to right, and greet Mrs. Stowe as they passed the platform. He would add, that their dear friend, Samuel Bowly, of Gloucester, had presided at a Committee meeting on the preceding day, at which the address had been passed, and he had therefore been deputed to read it.

Samuel Bowly, Esq., then rose and read as follows.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY
SOCIETY, TO MRS. HARRIET BEECHER
STOWE.

MADAM,—It is with feelings of the deepest interest that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, on behalf of themselves and of the Society they represent, welcome the gifted authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the shores of Great Britain.

As humble labourers in the cause of negro emancipation, we hail, with emotions more easily imagined than described, the appearance of that remarkable work which has awakened a world-wide sympathy on behalf of the suffering negro, and called forth a burst of honest indignation against the atrocious system of slavery, which, we trust, under the Divine blessing, will, at no distant period, accomplish its entire abolition. We are not insensible to those extraordinary merits of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a merely literary production, which have procured for its talented authoress such universal commendation and enthusiastic applause; but we feel it to be our duty to refer rather to the Christian principles and earnest piety which pervade its interesting pages, and to express our warmest desire, we trust we may say, heartfelt prayer, that He who bestowed upon you the power and the grace to write such a work, may preserve and bless you amidst all your honours, and enable you, under a grateful and humble sense of His abundant goodness, to give Him all the glory and all the praise.

We rejoice to find that the great principles upon which our Society is based, are so fully and so cordially recognised by yourself, and your beloved husband and brother. First, that personal slavery, in all its varied forms, is a direct violation of the blessed precepts of the Gospel, and therefore a sin in the sight of God; and, secondly, that every victim of this unjust and sinful system is entitled to immediate and unconditional freedom. For however we might acquiesce in the course of a nation which, under a sense of its participation in the guilt of slavery, should share the pecuniary loss, if such there were, of its immediate abolition, yet we repudiate the right to demand compensation for human flesh and blood, as (to employ the emphatic words of Lord Brougham) we repudiate

and abhor "the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man." And we do not hesitate to express our conviction, strengthened by the experience of emancipation in our own colonies, that on the mere ground of social or political expediency, the immediate termination of slavery would be far less dangerous, and far less injurious, than any system of compromise, or any attempts at gradual emancipation.

Let it be borne in mind, however, and we record it with peculiar interest on the present occasion, that it was the pen of a female that first publicly enunciated the imperative duty of immediate emancipation. Amid vituperation and ridicule, and far worse, the cold rebuke of Christian friends, Mrs. Elizabeth Heyrick boldly sent forth the thrilling tract which taught the abolitionists of Great Britain this lesson of justice and of truth, and we honour her memory for her deeds. Again, we are indebted to the pen of woman for pleading yet more powerfully the cause of justice to the slave; and again we have to admire and honour the Christian heroism which has enabled you, dear Madam, to brave the storm of public opinion, and to bear the frowns of the Church in your own land, whilst you boldly sent forth your matchless volume to teach more widely and more attractively the same righteous lesson.

We desire to feel grateful for the measure of success that has crowned the advocacy of these sound anti-slavery principles in our own country; but we cannot but feel, that as regards the continuance of slavery in America, we have cause for humiliation and shame in the existence of the melancholy fact, that a large proportion of the fruits of the bitter toil and suffering of the slaves in the western world are used to minister to the comfort and the luxury of our own population. When this anomaly of a country's putting down slavery by law on the one hand, and supporting it by its trade and commerce on the other, will be removed, it is not for us to predict; but we are conscious that our position is such as should at least dissipate every sentiment of self-complacency, and make us feel both nationally and individually how deep a responsibility still rests upon us to wash our own hands of this iniquity, and to seek by every legitimate means in our power to rid the world of this fearful institution.

True Christian philanthropy knows no geographical limits, no distinctions of race or colour; but wherever it sees its fellow-man the victim of suffering and oppression, it seeks to alleviate his sorrows, or drops a tear of sympathy over the afflictions which it has not the power to remove. We cannot but believe that these enlarged and generous sympathies will be aroused and strengthened in the hearts of thousands and tens of thousands of all classes who have wept over the touching pages

of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." We have marked the rapid progress of its circulation from circle to circle, and from country to country, with feelings of thrilling interest, for, we trust, by the Divine blessing upon the softening influence and Christian sentiments it breathes, it will be made the harbinger of a better and brighter day, for the happiness and the harmony of the human family. The facilities for international intercourse which we now possess, whilst they rapidly tend to remove those absurd jealousies which have so long existed between the nations of the earth, are daily increasing the power of public opinion in the world at large, which is so well described by one of our leading statesmen in these forcible words:—"It is quite true, it may be said, what are opinions against armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will, in the end, prevail against the bayonets of infantry, the fire of artillery, and the charges of cavalry." Responding most cordially to these sentiments, we rejoice with thanksgiving to God, that you whom we now greet and welcome as our dear and honoured friend have been enabled to exemplify their beauty and their truth: for it is our firm conviction that the united powers of Europe, with all their military array, could not accomplish what you have done, through the medium of public opinion, for the overthrow of American Slavery.

The glittering steel of the warrior, though steeped in the tyrant's blood, would be weak when compared with a woman's pen dipped in the milk of human kindness and softened by the balm of Christian love. The words that have drawn a tear from the eye of the noble, and moistened the dusky cheek of the hardest sons of toil, shall sink into the heart and weaken the grasp of the slaveholder, and crimson with a blush of shame many an American citizen who has hitherto defended or countenanced by his silence this bitter reproach on the character and constitution of his country.

To the tender mercies of Him who died to save their immortal souls, we commend the downcast slaves for freedom and protection, and in the heart-cheering belief that you have been raised up as an honoured instrument in God's hand to hasten the glorious work of their emancipation, we crave that His blessing, as well as the blessing of Him that is ready to perish, may abundantly rest upon you and yours. With sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, dear Madam, we affectionately subscribe ourselves, your friends and fellow-labourers.

The address, engrossed on parchment, was then handed to Mrs. Stowe, who rose to receive it, and bowed in acknowledgment.

Mr. Sturge said there had been very little time to get the address signed, but the Com-

mittee wished that as many of the Society's correspondents as possible should append their names to it; perhaps, therefore, the Committee might be allowed to retain it a few days for that purpose. Mrs. Stowe hereupon returned the document to Mr. Sturge.

Professor Stowe then stepped forward, and was received with prolonged cheering. He said:—"Besides the right which I have—owing to the relationship subsisting between us—to answer for the lady whom you have so honoured, I may claim a still greater right in my sympathy for her efforts.—(Hear.) We are perfectly agreed in every point with regard to the nature of slavery, and with regard to the best means of getting rid of slavery. I have been frequently called on to address public audiences since I have been on these shores, and though under circumstances of great disadvantage, and generally with little time, if any, for preparation, still the very great kindness which has been manifested to Mrs. Stowe and to myself, and to our country, afflicted as it is with this great evil, has enabled me to bear a burden which otherwise I should have found insupportable. But of all the addresses we have received, kind and considerate as they have all been, I doubt whether one has so completely expressed the feelings and sympathies of our own hearts as the one we have just heard. It is precisely the expression of our own thoughts and feelings on the whole subject of slavery. As this is probably the last time I shall have an opportunity of addressing an audience in England on this question, I wish briefly to give you an outline of our views as to the best means of dealing with that awful and terrible subject of slavery,—for in our country it is really terrible in its power and influence. And were it not that Providence seems to be lifting a light in the distance, I should be almost in despair. I believe, however, that there is now a system of causes at work which Providence designs should continue to work until that great curse is removed from the face of the earth. I believe that in dealing with the subject of slavery, and the best means of removing it, the first thing is to show the utter wrongfulness of the whole system. The great moral ground is the chief and primary ground, and the one on which we should always, and under all circumstances, insist.—With regard to the work which has created so much excitement, I believe the great excellence of that work morally is, that it holds up fully and emphatically the extreme wrongfulness of the system, while at the same time showing an entire Christian and forgiving spirit towards those involved in it, and it is those two characteristics which, in my opinion, have given it its great power. Till I read that work, I had never seen any extensive work that satisfied me on those points. In that I believe I have your sympathy, and that of all who agree with us that it does show in the most striking manner, the horrible wrongfulness of the system, and, at the same time, that it displays no bitterness, no unfairness, no unkindness, to those involved in it. It is that which gives the work the greater power, for where there is such unfairness, those assaulted take refuge behind it, while

there they have no such refuge. The second point we should always consider in assailing the system of slavery is, by insisting upon its wrongfulness, to awaken the consciences of those involved in it, for among slaveholders there are all kinds of moral developments, as among every other class of people in the world. There are men of tender conscience as well as men of blunted conscience—men with moral sense, and men with no moral sense whatever; some who have come into the system involuntarily, born in it, and others who have come into it voluntarily. There is a moral nature in every man, more or less distinct and developed, and according as it is developed we can, by showing the wrong of a thing, bring them to abhor it. We have the testimony of Christian clergymen in slaveholding States that the greater portion of the Christian people there, and even many slaveholders, believe the system is wrong, and it is only a matter of time, a question of delay as to the time when they shall perform their whole duty and bring it to an end. One would believe that when they saw a thing was wrong, they would at once do right; but prejudice, habit, interest, education, influence, and a variety of circumstances, check their aspirations to what is right; but let us keep on pressing it on their consciences, and I believe their consciences will at length respond. The third means is by bringing public sentiment to bear on the subject. Public sentiment is more powerful than force, and it may be excited in many ways. Conversation, the press, the platform, and the pulpit, may all be used to awaken the feeling of the people, and bring it to bear on this question. I refer especially to the pulpit; for, if the church and the ministry are silent, who is to speak for the dumb and the oppressed? I do declare to you that the thing that has borne on my mind with the most melancholy weight, and caused me more sorrow than all the rest, is the apparent apathy—the comparative silence of the Church on this subject for the last twenty or five-and-twenty years in the United States. Previous to that period it did speak, and with words of power; but, unfortunately, it has not followed out those words by acts. The influence of the system has come upon it, and brought it, for a long time, almost to entire silence; but I hope we are beginning to speak again. We hear voices here and there which will excite other voices, and I trust before long they will bring all to speak the same thing on this subject, so that the consciences of the whole nation will be aroused. There remains a fourth method of dealing with the subject, which is alluded to in the address, and also in the resolution of the Society, at Exeter Hall. It is the third resolution proposed at that meeting, and I will read it, and make some comments as I proceed. It begins,—'That with a view to the correction of public sentiment on this subject, in slaveholding communities, it is of the first importance that those who are earnest in condemnation of slavery, should observe consistency, and, therefore, that it is their duty to encourage the development of the natural resources of countries where slavery does not exist, and the soil of which is adapted to the growth of products—especially cotton—now partially or chiefly raised by slave-labour.' Now, I concur with that most

entirely, and would refer you to countries where cotton could be grown even in your own dominions, in India, Australia, British Guiana, and parts of Africa. But it can be raised by free labour in the United States, and indeed, it is already raised there by free labour to a considerable extent, and, provided the plan were more encouraged, it could be raised more abundantly. The resolution goes on to say, 'And though the extinction of slavery is less to be expected from a diminished demand for slave produce than from the moral effects of a steadfast abhorrence of slavery, and from an unwavering and consistent opposition to it.' Now, my own ideas on that subject are not quite so hopeless as that expressed, and it seems to me that you are not aware of the extent to which free labour is coming into competition with slave labour. I know several instances in the most slaveholding of all the States, in which slave labour has been displaced, and free labour substituted in its stead. I will just mention one. The weakness of slavery consists in the expense of the slaves, the great capital to be invested in their purchase before any work can be performed, and the constant danger of loss by death or escape. A short time ago, in New Orleans, all the hotels were served by slaves purchased by the proprietors of the hotels, and who, of course, had to make all that outlay to begin with. Lately, however, that system has been found very expensive, involving so much capital with great risk of loss, that it has been given up, and now the largest hotels in that city have discarded slaves, and are served wholly by free labour. I am also informed that, in other quarters, free labour is coming into competition with slave labour. When the Chinese emigrants from the eastern portion of their empire came to North-western States their labour was found much cheaper and better than that of slaves; and even in the slaveholding States themselves it must eventually work off slave labour from the soil. I therefore hope there may be a direct influence from this source, as well as the indirect influence contemplated by the resolution. At all events, it is an encouragement to those who wish the extinction of slavery, to keep their eyes open, and assist the process by all the means in their power. The resolution proceeds:— 'This meeting would earnestly recommend, in all cases where it is practicable, that a decided preference should be given to the products of free labour by all who enter their protest against slavery, so that at least they themselves may be clear of any participation in the guilt of the system, and be thus morally strengthened in their condemnation of it.' To that there can be no objection, but still the state of society is such that we cannot at once dispense with all the products of slave labour. We may, however, be doing what we can, examining the ways and methods by which this end may be brought about, and, at all events, we need not be deterred from self-denial, nor shrink before minor obstacles. If with foresight we participate in the encouragement of slave labour, we must hold ourselves guilty, in no unimportant sense, of sustaining the system of slavery. I will illustrate my argument by a very simple method. Suppose two ships arrive laden with silks, of the same quality, but one a pirate ship, in which the goods

have been obtained by robbery, and the other by honest trade. The pirate sells his silks twenty per cent. cheaper than the honest trader; you go to him and declaim against his dishonesty, but because you can get silks cheaper of him you buy of him. Would he think you are sincere in your denunciations of his plundering his fellow-creatures, or would you exert any influence on him to make him abandon his dishonest practices? I can, however, put another case, in which this inconsistency might, perhaps, be unavoidable. Suppose we were in a time of famine or great necessity, and we wished to obtain provisions for our suffering families; suppose, too, there was a certain man with provisions who we knew had come by them dishonestly, but we had no other resource than to purchase of him. In that case we should be justified in purchasing of him, and would not participate in the guilt of the robbery. But still, however great our necessity, we are not justified in refusing to examine the subject, and in discouraging those who are endeavouring to set the thing on the right ground. That is all I wish, and all the resolution contemplates; and, happily, I find that that also is what was implied in the address, because I fear lest there may be some difference of opinion among the opponents of slavery on that subject. I may mention one other method alluded to in the address, and that is, prayer to Almighty God. This ought to be, and must be, a religious enterprise. It is impossible for any man to contemplate slavery as it is, without feeling intense indignation; and, unless he have his heart near to God, and unless he be a man of prayer and devotional spirit, bad passions will arise, and, to a very great extent, neutralize his efforts to do good. How do you suppose such a religious feeling has been preserved in the book to which the address referred, but, because it was written amid prayer, and with prayer from the beginning; and it is only by a constant exercise of the religious spirit that the good it had effected has been accomplished in the way it has, so that I look on it as a voice from heaven, so to say. There is one more subject to which I would allude, and that is, unity among those who are desirous to emancipate the slave. I mean a good understanding and unity of feeling among the opponents of slavery. What gives slavery its great strength in the United States? There are only about 300,000 slaveholders in the United States, out of the whole twenty-five millions of its population, and yet they hold the entire power over the nation. That is owing to their unbroken unity on that one matter, however much, and however fiercely, they may contend among themselves on others. As soon as the subject of slavery comes up they are of one heart, of one voice, and of one mind, while their opponents unhappily differ even with regard to slavery, and assail each other when they ought to be assailing the great enemy alone. Why can they not work together, so far as they are agreed, and let those points on which they disagree be waived for the time? In the midst of the battle let them sink their differences, and settle them after the victory is won. I was happy to find at the great meeting of the Peace Society, that that course has been adopted. They are not all of one mind on the details of the question; but they are of one mind on the

great principle of diffusing peace doctrines among the nations of Europe. I therefore say, let all the friends of the slave work together until the great work of his emancipation is accomplished, and then they will have time to discuss their principles, though I believe by that time they will all think alike. I thank you sincerely for the kindness you have expressed towards my country, and for the philanthropy you have manifested, and I hope all has been done in such a Christian spirit, that every Christian feeling on the other side of the Atlantic will be compelled to respond to it."

The Chairman then rose, and called the attention of the meeting to the efforts which were being made to raise a sum of money, by penny subscriptions, to present as a testimonial to Mrs. Stowe. The money was to be placed at her disposal for the extinction of slavery, and for various efforts to promote the social elevation of the slave. One lady, he said, had raised upwards of £6 in penny subscriptions. The total sum collected was now about £1,300. Some of it would be expended in the circulation of anti-slavery tracts, and in various ways to further the education of people of colour. An effort would also be made, judiciously, to circulate information even in the Southern States. They were probably aware that the principal Tract Society in America, by the influence of the slaveholders, withdrew from all their tracts every paragraph that had an anti-slavery tendency. But there was a reformed Tract Society which did not do this—and that Society, he believed, Mrs. Stowe was very anxious to assist. Amongst the trustees of this fund were the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Sir E. Buxton. He would conclude by saying that after many years' close attention to this subject, he believed that all those who honestly thought that the holding of an innocent man in bondage was a wrong and a crime, were bound in duty, before they condemned the slaveholder, to do all they could to discountenance the system, by not using the articles produced. This was a difficult matter; but the obstacles had already been removed, so far as sugar and rice were concerned, and they were in a process of removal with regard to cotton. Meantime, they could use Irish linens. He had only to ask, that the company would be pleased to decline shaking hands with Mrs. Stowe, as from the state of her health, and the large number of persons present, such a proceeding would be very undesirable. They must, therefore, not expect it.

Mrs. H. B. Stowe here took her seat in front of the platform, amidst loud and protracted applause, and the audience was then so divided, that each person had an opportunity of passing by her, and, having received a bow of recognition, moved on, and so left the room.

A great number of presentations took place; amongst the most interesting of which, on account of the marked notice which Mrs. Stowe took of the parties, were Mr. William Craft and Mrs. Craft, W. Wells Brown and his daughter, and Professor and Mrs. Allen; the former, fugitives from slavery, whose adventures are alone sufficient to illustrate every phase of the system which Mrs. Stowe has so ably delineated. The secretary also presented Mr. J. M. McKim, of Philadelphia, secretary to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, who is visiting England for recreation, and who has long been a devoted labourer in the anti-slavery cause. Mrs. Stowe also shook hands with the Rev. E. Mathews, of Wisconsin, who was lynched in Kentucky for preaching against slavery, and whose ill-treatment on that occasion has been dwelt upon by Mrs. Stowe, in her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as an illustration of mob law in the South. Several other persons, ladies and gentlemen, were likewise introduced to Mrs. Stowe, and all appeared highly gratified to have so favourable an opportunity of coming into personal communication with one who has excited so much interest.

Amongst the general company we noticed Sir John Pakington, Sir John D. Paul, Sir Nicholas Chinnery, Sir James Anderson, Sir John Hare, Wm. Ewart, Esq., M.P., James Bell, Esq., M.P., George Thompson, Esq., Mr. Serjeant Mathews, C. F. Adams, Esq., of Charleston, S. Low, Esq., Dr. Norton Shaw, Dr. Lee, W. T. Blair, Esq., of Bath; George and Ed. Thomas, and J. B. Estlin, Esqrs., of Bristol; Abraham Crowley, G. W. Harrison, Joseph Sturge, Thomas Graham, Thomas Southall, J. T. Price, J. D. Carr, Henry Carr, Barclay Fox, George William Alexander, S. Horman Fisher, Henry Sterry, Joseph Cooper, Wm. Beck, Thomas Binns, Stafford Allen, Frederick Tuckett, W. S. Dadson, R. N. Fowler, G. L. Neighbour, —Capper, Esqrs., Dr. Lovell, Dr. Oxley, T. R. Hervey, Esq., Dr. Wagstaff, Dr. Whitehead, of the *New York Herald*, the Rev. Drs. Massie, Hewlett, Thompson, Hobby, and Carlile, Revs. J. C. Gallaway, Wm. Arthur, W. Aveling, Mr. Trestrail, Alexander Crummell, James Sherman, J. B. Brown, R. Ashton, Hy. Richard, C. B. Gribble, J. H. Hinton, Wm. Owen, John Waddington, George Rose, S. R. Ward, J. Kennard, R. H. Herschell, and H. Battiscombe, &c.

There was also present a large number of ladies belonging to the various Anti-slavery organizations in the provincial towns, whose names etiquette precludes us from specially mentioning; and others not known to the general public, but whose quiet and unobtrusive labours in the cause of humanity entitle them to a passing allusion.

After the company had passed round, Mrs.

Stowe withdrew to a private apartment to partake of refreshment, and left shortly after ten o'clock; the visitors lining the stairs and cheering her on her passage. The general company were served with refreshments in the lower rooms, where Mr. Willis had prepared a handsome collation.

We trust that all who were present received a due share of attention: and if there were any who did not, that they will ascribe the short-coming not to any deficiency on the part of the managers or of ourselves, but to the impossibility of enforcing regulations for the accommodation of large companies, under circumstances so exciting. The entire number of persons present was seven hundred and seventy.

THE "TIMES" AND THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

Amongst other sneering commentaries upon the proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on the 16th ultimo, the *Times* of the 18th has the following, directed against the nobleman who presided on that interesting occasion.

"Lord Shaftesbury spoke, as he is too apt to speak, when he has discovered what he thinks a religious principle. He spoke as if he had never read of slaves in the Bible—as if slaves had not been therein told to remain content with their lot—as if compulsory service was incompatible with social laws or moral obligations; and as if three millions of slaves could be safely emancipated by a single vote of the American Congress, or any State Legislature, any more than all the infants in the Union could be as summarily invested with the rights of full age. Indeed, he did not altogether blink the adverse testimony of the Bible, but he disposed of that testimony by the summary expedient of declaring that all who rested on it were of the synagogue of Satan. This is rather a loose way of talking when it comes to a question of doctrine, and to numerous texts with a definite meaning. Let us beg to suggest to Lord Shaftesbury that, invaluable as his labours are in the work of social and material reforms, he would do well to take counsel of some learned minister before he resigns the texts of Scripture to the synagogue of Satan. Indeed, he has not done even Mrs. Stowe that justice out of Scripture which she has a right to expect. The Lord, he says, will sell this Sisera, that is the Anti-abolitionists, into the hands of a woman,—viz., Mrs. Stowe. Now we protest, on the behalf of Mrs. Stowe, that she is not the woman into whose hands the Lord has sold the Anti-abolitionists. She is the Deborah of this question; the judge, the prophetess, the inspired songstress. The craven-hearted Barak would not give chase to Sisera and his chariots of iron, unless Deborah might be allowed to go with him; so to punish him the victory was to be utterly inglorious, at least to him; a woman was to invite Sisera into

her tent, receive him with pretended hospitality, and kill him in his sleep; but in which respect Mrs. Stowe is like Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite, except that she has hit the right nail on the head, Lord Shaftesbury himself would be puzzled to say."

The Earl of Shaftesbury has since sent the following rejoinder to the editor. We believe no right-minded person will fail to perceive that the response, though brief, has all the vigour and conclusiveness of truth, nor but admit, that it satisfactorily disposes of the fallacy insinuated, rather than put forth, by the writer of the pro-slavery article in question.

"To the Editor of the *Times*."

"Sir,—It was not until this morning that I had an opportunity of seeing the *Times* of the 18th.

"As you have done me the honour to notice a speech I made in Exeter-hall on the subject of slavery, you will, I am sure, be so good as to insert this explanation of one passage in the abridged report of what I said.

"I will not detain you by a statement of the wide distinction between Hebrew and American slavery, nor of the protection thrown around the one, and the total helplessness of the other; I will only allude to the expression on which you administer a rebuke, that persons who 'rested American slavery on Holy Scripture desecrated their pulpits by doctrines better suited to the synagogue of Satan.'

"I said so, and I venture to justify it on the following grounds:—

"American slavery permits and legalizes the sale of the husband from the wife, the wife from the husband, and the children from both.

"American slavery permits and legalizes public markets, where human beings, in every respect as good as ourselves, are sold by auction, and in a mode more degrading than that of any sale of cattle.

"American slavery permits and legalizes the establishment of breeding farms, where the vast mass are forced to live in concubinage, the male children being sold into servitude, and the female into servitude and prostitution.

"Judge Ruffin, one of the most vigorous minds that America has produced, in expounding from the bench the laws of slavery, uses these words:—

'The slave is one doomed in his own person and in his posterity to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits.' . . . 'The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect.' . . . 'His power is in no instance usurped, but is conferred by the laws of man at least, if not by the laws of God.'

"Any man who can mount the pulpit and defend such things on the authority of Holy Scripture seems to me either not to know Christianity, or to promulgate doctrines diametrically the reverse of it.

"I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

"May 19."

"SHAFTESBURY."